01729

1966/12/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 95-21
By iap, NARA Date 7-9-96

SENT
WHCA

SENT:
1:22 AM
8 DEC 66

VZCZCEEA510
OO WTE10
DE WTE 2596

V

1966 DEC 8 06 22

FROM: WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM (BROWN)
TO : JAKE JACOBSEN FOR THE PRESIDENT
CITE: CAP661211

~~TOP SECRET~~ NODIS
MARIGOLD

~~T O P S E C R E T~~ NODIS/MARIGOLD

TO THE PRESIDENT FROM KATZANBACH

THE FOLLOWING DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS TO GRONOUSKI ARE IN CONNECTION WITH HIS INCOMING 1394 OF WHICH YOU HAVE A COPY. IN GENERAL IT SEEMS TO US CLEAR THAT WE SHOULD DENY ESCALATION AND TAKE STEPS TO DISCOURAGE FURTHER MEDDLING ON THE PART OF RAPACKI. WHAT WE WISH TO DO IS PRESS HARD TO GET IN EARLY, DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. IN PARTICULAR, WE DON'T WISH RAPACKI TO GET INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING WHAT WE DO OR WHAT WE DON'T DO WITH RESPECT TO BOMBING.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT SORTIES IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF HANOI WILL BE VIEWED BY THE OTHER SIDE AS AN ESCALATION OF BOMBING. THIS MIGHT, IN FACT, BE INTERPRETED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE IN THE WAY RAPACKI SUGGESTS, IN WHICH CASE THEY MIGHT GET THEIR BACKS UP AND REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE AT THIS TIME. EVEN IF THIS WERE NOT TRUE, IT COULD BE USED BY THE POLES AS AN EXCUSE FOR THEIR FAILURE TO DELIVER THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN WARSAW, THUS LEADING TO ANOTHER U THANT-TYPE "REVELATION" AT SOME FUTURE TIME. FINALLY, WE MUST ALSO CONSIDER THAT SWEDISH AMBASSADOR PETRI WILL BE IN HANOI FROM DECEMBER 12-15, AND THAT ALL OF THIS TAKES PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF PAPAL APPEALS AND SIMILAR PEACE EXHORTATIONS.

FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS WE BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE A REVIEW OF CURRENT BOMBING SCHEDULES WITH A VIEW TO AVOIDING TARGETS CLOSE IN TO HANOI. AT THE SAME TIME WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT AN EXPLICIT OFFER OF A REDUCTION AT THIS TIME WOULD BE DESIRABLE SINCE THIS COULD LEAD TO FURTHER PRESSURES FOR CESSATION OR MAJOR DE-ESCALATION PRIOR TO TALKS. IT WOULD ALSO RAISE SPECULATION ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS AND WHETHER OR NOT THERE HAD BEEN A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE RESPONSE FROM HANOI.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON WE HAVE SUGGESTED THE BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN PARAGRAPH 1. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS WHICH YOU COULD ADOPT:

COPY LBJ LIBRAR

A. WE COULD KEEP CURRENT BOMBING PLANS IN WHICH CASE THE SENTENCE SHOULD BE DELETED SINCE IMPLICIT IN IT IS SOME MOVEMENT WITH RESPECT TO TARGETS.

B. WE COULD SHIFT OUR BOMBING PATTERN AWAY FROM HANOI BUT MAKE NO REFERENCE TO IT. THIS WOULD LOSE WHATEVER IMMEDIATE ADVANTAGE MAY BE CONTAINED IN DELIVERING THE SENTENCE BUT WOULD PROTECT US WITH RESPECT TO ANY PUBLIC DENUNCIATION BY WARSAW.

C. WE COULD PROMISE THAT WE WOULD NOT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE BOMB TARGETS CLOSE IN TO HANOI. THIS WOULD GIVE US AN IMMEDIATE ADVANTAGE WITH RAPACKI BUT COULD BE INTERPRETED BY HIM OR NORTH VIETNAM AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS AND WHET THEIR APPETITES FOR CESSATION OR AT LEAST MORE CONCESSIONS.

D. WE COULD PROMISE A VARIATION WITH RESPECT TO TARGETING IN THE EVENT THAT US/NVN TALKS ARE UNDER WAY. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WOULD TEND TO BE REGARDED AS AN ULTIMATUM.

E. YOU CAN LEAVE THIS DECISION FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT, IN WHICH CASE, WE SHOULD NOT INCLUDE THE BRACKETED SENTENCE.

FINALLY, WE SHOULD NOTE THAT AT THIS STAGE ALL OF US ARE SKEPTICAL AS TO EXACTLY WHAT WARSAW CAN AND WILL PRODUCE, BUT THERE IS STILL ENOUGH POSSIBILITY TO WARRANT SERIOUS ACTION ON OUR SIDE. THERE IS NO BETTER NEGOTIATING POSSIBILITY CURRENTLY IN THE WORKS AND A FAILURE WITH RESPECT TO THIS POSSIBILITY WOULD PROBABLY PREJUDICE OTHER FEELERS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

MCNAMARA, THOMPSON AND ROSTOW CONCUR.

IT IS A STRONG RECOMMENDATION OF KATZENBACH, MCNAMARA AND THOMPSON THAT BRACKETED SENTENCE REMAIN IN THE INSTRUCTIONS. ROSTOW BELIEVES IT WISE BECAUSE INCLUSION HERE IS ESSENTIAL TO THE LINKING OF PHASES A AND B.

MAY WE PLEASE HAVE YOUR COMMENTS ON THE FOLLOWING DRAFT CABLE TO GRONOUSKI TONIGHT? WE WOULD LIKE TO GET THESE INSTRUCTIONS TO JOHN IN TIME FOR HIS ACTION ON DECEMBER 8.

PROPOSED MESSAGE TO GRONOUSKI

1. IN RESPONSE TO MATTERS RAISED BY RAPACKI AS REPORTED IN YOUR 1394, YOU SHOULD ASSURE HIM THAT WE HAD NO INTENTION IN CARRYING OUT OUR BOMBING PATTERN TO BRING PRESSURE ON NORTH VIETNAM IN RELATION TO THE PROJECTED TALKS WITH THEM. IN THIS CONNECTION YOU SHOULD

PRESER

COPY LBJ LIBRAR

NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE TYPES OF TARGETS WHICH HAVE BEEN ATTACKED -- RAILWAY YARDS, MISSILE SITES AND MISSILE STORAGE, POL AND VEHICLE DEPOTS. OUR BOMBING PATTERNS ARE SET WELL IN ADVANCE; ARE SUBJECT TO OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS SUCH AS WEATHER; AND ARE NECESSARILY KNOWN TO A LARGE NUMBER OF OUR MILITARY FORCES. ANY RADICAL CHANGE IN TYPES OR LOCATIONS OF TARGETS OR NUMBERS OF SORTIES ALREADY SCHEDULED WOULD ALERT A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE AND WOULD FOCUS ATTENTION ON ANY CANCELLATIONS. START BRACKETS: NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE REVIEWING OUR PLANS AND WILL DO WHAT WE CAN WITHIN THE LIMITS OF MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF THE PROJECTED TALKS TO AVOID WHAT MIGHT APPEAR AS A FURTHER INTENSIFICATION. END BRACKETS:

2. IN THIS CONNECTION, HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD REMIND RAPACKI THAT THE SUBJECT OF BOMBING WAS ONE OF THE MATTERS DISCUSSED IN HANOI BY LEWANDOWSKI AND THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO PURSUE THIS MATTER WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE IN THE SAME TERMS WHICH WE AFFIRMED TO HIM. YOU SHOULD READ REFERENCE ON PACKAGE CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 8 OF LEWANDOWSKI'S 10 POINTS (STATE 97930) TO REMIND HIM OF LEWANDOWSKI'S STATEMENT TO LODGE. YOU SHOULD UNDERLINE THAT INHERENT IN THIS FORMULATION IS THE PACKAGE APPROACH TO DE-ESCALATION.

3. IF RAPACKI ATTEMPTS TO NAIL US TO ANYTHING ON BOMBING BEYOND OUR FIRST CONTACT WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, OR AGAIN THREATENS TO BREAK OFF THE OPERATION, YOU SHOULD INFORM HIM IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT IF HE MAINTAINS THIS POSITION HE WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT THE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BREAKDOWN OF WHAT APPEARS TO US TO BE A PROMISING POSSIBILITY FOR PEACE.

KATZENBACH

FOREGOING MESSAGE PREPOSITIONED WITH STATE DEPARTMENT WATCH OFFICER. WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM WILL RELAY PRESIDENT'S CONCURRENCE AND/OR CHANGES.

DTG: 080517Z DEC 66

~~TOP SECRET~~ MARIGOLD

~~PARIS~~
~~PARIS~~

PRESS

COPY LBJ LIBRAR